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From the Friend of Man.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PHILANTHROPIST.

Dr. Bailey—

SIR:—Pardon the freedom of a stranger, in bringing before you the sentiments of a co-operative in the great field of human rights. Perhaps by comparing opinions more frequently, on the subject of American Slavery and its remedy, we may find that those, who are separated by many degrees of latitude or longitude, may view this great crime and its cure not essentially alike. That which is the oftenest considered, will be the best understood, and what is intended to be embraced in the great issue now making up between liberty and slavery, is a question in which the character of this nation is deeply involved, and on which the happiness of tens of thousands and the freedom of millions may depend; and must be one always claiming and summoning to its consideration, the most patriotic and far-seeing of her sons. If this communication should be the means of your placing your views before the world on the momentous questions alluded to by me, one of the greatest objects of this letter will have been accomplished.

The work of the Revolution was fairly staked out, embracing the political freedom of the colonies—the personal liberty of each one, in the immortal Declaration of Independence:—

'The great Declaration is a summary of colonial and personal injustice. The sword in seven years, cut loose the colonies from their bondage. The dismemberment was ratified.—Our country took her seat at the conncil board of nations. The young sovereignty *limped* up into the temple of nations, with the Declaration of Independence spread, in her right hand, with a whip and fetter in her left, followed by a slave, while the blush mantled on her cheek, and revealed the struggles of her shame, and what she lacked in the sincesity of intent, she contrived to counterfeit by a certain impudence of of pretense—and what she lost by force of position, she would fain make up, by the ingenuity of her abstractions. Theoretically, the relation of slave and master, king and people, was dissolved. The Declaration of Independence struck up, and the *hand* of the king fell off; it struck down, and the hand of the master was unclenched. Slavery since then has been constitutional man-stealing and legal kidnapping; slavery though once laid out for interment, was not buried, but was in fact, an ill-omened resuscitation of a fungus, on the body politic, and was strapped and bandaged up with the other ceres of the Revolution, and instead of excision, it now claims the dignity of being a "peculiar institution," whose increasing weight makes the body politic, by which it is nursed, reel and stagger under its ponderous load. The past year has given some encouraging premonitory symptoms of that final and frightful collapse of a system of crime, which has battened on the flesh and blood of men, from century to century, and age to age.

Great injustice will not last forever. Accumulated sorrows of swelling hearts, will hurst out somewhere. In a single morning of August, 1831, *eighty-four* disembodied spirits were summoned from the Southampton massacre, to stand before the Eternal, as witnesses of justice long denied, and hope crushed in the bosom of the slave. Were the green earth of this nation carpeted with Decalogues beaming with celestial light from every word; were the blue heavens of this land curtained with aphorisms of eternal truth, and the leaf of every tree in the forest or the field, instinct with declarations of the equality and universal liberty conferred by the Creator on man; still one guiltless slave held as a chattle, by the law, would give the lie direct, to this festooned and emblazoned hypocrisy of high sounding moral assertion. The abstractions of this nation are divine ethics, but the practice, iniquity's rules of action. It seems to be thought important that a man's abstract belief be right; then his practice is his own affair, for which he is not accountable.

It is difficult to define the position of a nation whose morality terminates in the orthodoxy of its abstractions. No nation in which the religion of Moses and Christ prevails, was ever rich enough to perform its labor by slaves. Slavery will cost a nation its self-respect, also the loss of the labor of those who rely on slavery for support, also the loss of the poor freeman's labor, who will not work, where labor is disgraced as the business of slaves. Slavery will bankrupt its community every ten years, because slavery will not and cannot do enough to maintain a community, where the majority are idle. The defect which slavery does not supply must be purchased by wealthy credit, and paid in repudiation and bankruptcy. Slavery blots the line between *mine* and *thine*, and elevates the greatest crime into a "peculiar institution."

The commerce of such a country is quickened into life by the whip; the groans of fathers, the tears of mothers are the indications of its progress.

The cracking lash from twice ten thousand cotton fields, is the nonrefful music of their progress from day to day to life's end. The slaveholder cramps the immortal power of his slave, to make the animal portion more available. I repeat, no nation is rich enough to use immortal man as property. He is too valuable for the base purpose, to which he is applied. What farmer could prosperously *till* his cornfield with a golden plough, with handles of orient pearls? It may be asked if slavery expired on the 4th July, 1776, how has it come down to us, with so much brass on its front, claiming the assistance of the Constitution, as its great patron? The answer is, there was no days-man, no savior, no Granville Sharp, to stand up between the oppressor with power, and the helpless oppressed. Had God seen fit to have raised a Sharpe to have proclaimed that slaves could not breathe in these United States, the first moment they touched our soil, the abiding electricity of the great Declaration might have melted their chains; there was a divinity in its language, and a force in its terms, that casuistry could not resist, or robbery prevent.

Lord Mansfield, who for more than 20 years, ruled the judicial mind of Westminster Hall, by the supremecy of his own, twice in the King's Bench on solemn argument pronounced slavery a part of the law of England. But the great Granville Sharpe consecrated himself to the noble work of exploring the deepest spring of English liberty, the waters of whose fountain when by Sharpe presented to this same court, Lord Mansfield declared to be the true nectar of English liberty, and that from that day henceforth forever, no slave could breathe who had placed his feet on the soil of beetle-cliffed England. That was the can de vie, the water of life; and Somerset's case will be regarded to the world's end, as the re-discovery of the long-lost spring of English liberty. If we had had a Sharpe to have taken a slave, on a writ of habeas corpus, before the first Chief Justice Jay of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1789 or 1790, while the great truths were *yet* in the memory of men, while gratitude to God was alive for the white man's deliverance from a foreign yoke, before the cotton gin—the black man's curse—was invented, who can tell but that the slave might have been proclaimed free?

But alas! the claimants of human flesh were constitution-makers, law-givers, law-interpreters, and law-executioners. A construction and definition came mainly, from those interested to perpetuate a crime as disastrous, in the end, to themselves and their posterity, as to the victims of this aggravated villainy. Slavery has eaten out the very soul of words, and every intendment raised in behalf of liberty, and every presumption raised against cruelty and injustice is broken down, by violent construction, shamefully at war with the benignity of the common law. The common law presumes all men free, till the contrary appears, without regard to color. Slavery presumes a colored man a slave, until he proves himself free. I solemnly believe if the Constitution were to be interpreted by the Judges of Westminster Hall, slavery would cease in a single day in the District of Columbia; and it would be told, it could not derive a single power to hold a colored man by virtue of that instrument.

Has there ever been a Judge at Washington, who delivered a judicial opinion, in which the rights of the slave were involved, but came to the consideration of the question, under the terrible weight of injustice, so deep, that the loftiest intellect might flag and falter, by the debasement of its employment which instead of weighing out the justice of Heaven, is basely employed in lending its sanction to the clutchings of robbery, the greediness of injustice, and the baseness of avarice. Look at the pompous prowling white man, and the poor powerless black one, contesting their rights in a slave-holding forum! Could the black man have summoned as much influence and power as the white, and employed able counsel to vindicate his rights, Oh, what glorious triumphs would truth and liberty have made over falsehood and tyranny; the world would have rung with the grandest efforts of mind which had ever arrested the attention of mankind, from the time of Demosthenes to the day of Cicero; from Paul to Luther, or from Bacon and Raleigh to Edmund Burke and Patrick Henry.

But no, the colored man's oath could never be heard in the Sanctuary of Justice, for wrong done him by the whole Caucasian race, and if a case so poor, he could employ no counsel to aid by strong arguments to drive deep the stakes of liberty. In the last half century, there have been wrongs enough inflicted by the white upon the colored race, to have kept all the courts of the civilized world well employed, in administering and weighing out natural justice to these injured ones.

We therefore as abolitionists, should never make a single admission, in relation to the construction of our Constitution which might tell against the slave. It is craven to admit any thing against the colored man, in favor of piratical legislation. Every act organic or legislative, morally, so far as it bears on the slave, is clearly null and void in the court of conscience, it being made to take rights from him, without his consent, and which natural justice would declare wrong. It is ethically wrong to admit that the slaveholder has one right, however acquired, when that right is carved out of the natural ones of the slave, no matter how strongly the slaveholder's right may be upheld by a covenant or league on the part of the free states. For neither the slave nor free states had any moral jurisdiction over the African, to reduce the quantum of his political and personal rights, below the average of the great community. But when we point to the Constitution or laws of the Union or States, as evidence of rights secured to the master, to the disparagement of the slave, whose whole life, and that of his race, have been one continued protest and dissent thereto, our act is morally preposterous in the extreme.

No donbt many tender consciences suppose there is something perversely radical in the above proposition, and that such doctrine is dangerously immoral; and these persons seem, although subject to an abolition influence, anxious to find a store for their small spice of oblation by asserting the validity of the master's claim, whatever it may be, when propped by constitutions, legislation, or judicial decisions. This looks too much like being as liberal as a prince in another man's house.

The ground I take, is, that all slave laws being made in derogation of all right, humane or divine, and in the robber's interest, the robbed, of the strong against the weak, and without consideration or consent express or implied, on the part of the slave, and for the entire profit and advantage of the master and to the never ending injury of the slave, therefore it seems to me, that the facts here assumed as entering into any law to uphold slavery, directly or remote, are such as themselves evidence of the most stupendous fraud which can be committed through the instrumentality of one class of men upon that of another. Then we may refer to the civil law, the law of nations, the common law; and it is the unbroken current of authority of all these laws that *fraud* avoids all contracts and all proceedings however solemn, as a judgment, or decree of the highest courts; and even acts of parliament when pronounced by *fraud*, are all null and void, however high the authentication of their solemnities. But slavery, so far as written laws come to its support, is always stamped with fraud, as clearly, as though in the preamble to the law it was to recite, that "Whereas, it is right for the strong to rob the weak, the powerful to deprive the helpless of themselves, and appropriate them and their posterity to their own use; and whereas morality and honesty in the transactions of men are exploded truisms belonging to an obsolete age, and the man, who by night or day, or by the most flagitious fraud can circumvent his fellow being, is well entitled to the fruits of his knavery; therefore be it enacted, that if A is stronger than B, he has a better right to B's body than B has to himself. If A by fraud, stratagem, or force can violate B's natural right, that is to be taken as evidence that B was not made for himself, but for his stronger neighbor's use.

Again, is it not the essence of absurdity, for us to contend that the constituted powers of this nation are constitutionally capable of being employed to uphold slavery, but these same constituted authorities are constitutionally powerless to do justice to the slave, and restore him to his liberty?

We never should admit that we are under a *moral* obligation to do wrong, and have *therefore* no legal power to do right. Many are in haste to admit that we have conspired by *compact*, against the liberties of the colored man, & that morality requires we should be pertinaciously and wickedly consistent in carrying out the original knavery of our agents to crush forever the rights of two and a half millions of men, and that we exhausted our power to do good, in the great evil we undertook to perform; therefore if indeed we desired now to do right, we have no power; or at any rate, morality demands we should be villains, because we *so agreed*, rather than become just and honest men, at the expense of breaking a murderer's covenant. We have thrust the innocent man into the dungeon, but have no power, say some, to lift him out. Our constitutional power is exercised to destroy the rights of man, is a spent power, and when a sense of our crime appears to us, and we would desire to redress the wrong we have done, some tell us, alas! we have no space for repentance, because we are constitutionally moral bankrupts. Every admission made of constitutional inability to redress any and every act of injustice, direct or remote, affecting the liberties of any of our countrymen, touching any point wherein we have heretofore wronged them, is as cowardly as it is untrue. It has however, often been done to propitiate slaveholding and proslavery wrath; but we have always lost in self-respect, more than we have gained, by our pusillanimity. It is wrong to make merchandize of even a legal opinion which goes to confirm the conquests of the buccaneer. The proposition cannot be doubted that we have power to take back every thing wrong in the Constitution or law, to which we or our fathers have lent their sanction, affecting the rights of colored men. We can abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and between the slave states, because these two kinds of slavery derive their power from the Constitution, whether rightfully or wrongfully I will not stop to inquire. The fugitive slave act of 1793, by which the free states have become the hunters' great forest of human game, can be abolished by Congress. The internal slave trade and the act of 1793, abolishing slave could never have been consummated for their own safety. The South, were they to rely on themselves for protection from insurrection, would be compelled to *dot* its whole territory with forts; not less than 2000 would be required, to protect the women and children.—The forts required, at $20,000 each would be $40,000,000, and the munitions, arms, &c., to furnish in a small degree each fort, could not be less than $10,000 each, or $20,000,000 more, which added to the cost of forts would amount to $60,000,000—strange mode of extorting labor in the nineteenth century! Secretary Upshur refers to this mode of defending the South in his late report. If the forts were built, the slaves would find them as good points to rally for insurrection, as the master for protection.

Again, the great staple of the South, cotton, has found a competition in the British East Indies, where enough probably will be grown in ten years to supply the necessities of men, at about half the price, at which cotton has heretofore been sold. To enable the southern planter with his reckless mode of conducting his affairs to compete successfully against the cheap free labor of India, would require cotton-gin and slave to be given away as a governmental bounty, or donation, in the start.

The first streak of light which appeared after the Revolution was a lurid one shot forth some 26 years since; and men have disputed from that time to this, whether it was a prismatic ray of the ascending glories of the Sun of Liberty, or whether it was not a false light flung up from the pent fires of slavery. It is called the Colonization Society. A few good men in the North had a hazy, indistinct idea of the immeasurable wrongs of slavery, and could find no measures for its redress, except expatriation beyond the Atlantic, of those freedmen who had once been its victims. The North thought they saw in this Society the colored man elevated on the other side of the globe, and the slaveholder saw something more than shadow. He saw the freedman, by them hated, because he was free, ent off from all sympathy with the slave, no more to he the bondman's eyes and feet, the slave made safe, his value increased, his escape impossible. This Society was a strange confusion of benevolence and fraud, of northern indefiniteness and southern svariee, glossed with good intentions, controlled by southern sagacity, as heartless as it was specifically selfish, believing it the safety-valve for troubled consciences, and a sure way to make slavery valuable and perpetual.

About this time or shortly after, the slaves, it is supposed, organized two distinct missions, one the free State, and the other the Canada mission. The object of these missions appears to have been to send off slaves to Liberty.—These societies, without funds or agents, or the countenance of a single member of Congress or a Doctor of Divinity, (but the whole constituted authorities of this country, by sea and land, armed against them,) have done a very spirited and successful business, (although the slavetrade is forbidden,) this society deals in nothing but slaves, has sent away by these missions, five persons, where the Colonization Society has sent one to Africa. The Colonization Society seems to be a sponge, to absorb the disregarded and floating sympathy, which men feel to do something to wash out the vileness of slavery.

When men cease to delude themselves with the folly, that the expatriation of a few thousand freedmen, is the same as the emancipation of two and half millions of slaves, then, and not till then, will the Colonization Society be powerless, for the purpose of mischief. Long continued injustice done to man, must burst up somewhere, sooner or later. In August, 1831, eighty four disembodied spirits appeared before the Eternal, while their murdered clay lay on their own hearth stones weltering in their gore, in Southampton.

Slavery did it. Slave insurrections on sea or land with murder is a part of the shocking system. In 1832 a few northern noble spirits, deeply pitying the condition of the slave, and perceiving no hopelessness of Colonization, determined that the only remedy for slavery was unconditional emancipation. And in the last ten years there has been performed an amount of labor, by the Anti-Slavery Reformers, without a parallel in any of the past ages of benevolence in the world.

Both of the great parties who contended for the mastery of the Republic hoped to flatter the South by a base and profound acknowledgment of various constitutional compacts implied, upholding slavery, which never existed, and by shaming abolitionists without stint or measure;—this was the competition between those great parties, who from that day to this have poured from a thousand presses concocted and deliberate falsehoods, to bereave the friends of Man of their characters for humanity, sense, patriotism, and every quality which can elevate or ennoble man. These parties have set mobs in motion upon us, demolished private buildings, destroyed the sanctuaries of the living God, and devoted to the flames the most beautiful temple ever erected to Liberty on this continent; they laid their Vandal hands upon the printing presses and destroyed them; and above all, they inflicted dreadful scourging upon our most worthy men; they have been contrary to law on some, imprisoned others, and finally murdered Love joy the martyr.

We were compelled, poor and sparse as we were, to erect and maintain presses, papers, and publish books, pamphlets, reviews, magazines, and in fact to create in self-defence, and that of the rights of our race, a literature of our own, in which to embalm the sorrows of insulted humanity. We have been refused the use of halls in order to refute the vilest calumnies which those same papers had originated or circulated. The public mind was so far misled, as to the objects of the abolitionists, as to believe slavery a friend. Ten candidates either before or after the election apologized for any abolition tendencies in their moral frame-work, or by force of position, to one who has avowed his fidelity to our principles.

The truth has been, both parties have been so corrupt as to employ all their ingenuity to fix on their adversary, the stigma of upholding abolition; while each sought to wipe out the blot of humanity, some by a bold impudent blow, struck full in the face of Liberty, as an atonement for the suspicion of being just. The effect at last was that a genuine abolitionist of either of these parties, could not be nominated for a law-making trust, but was put under the ban of proscription, and when a man was nominated, who by accident bore the proscribed cognomen of abolitionist, he was found almost uniformly to be a man, who from fuitleness of his powers, could render our cause no service, and would, if a man of some talent, always as between abolition and party, in a pinch, go for party and sacrifice the slave, at the very moment his strength was the most wanted, these men who nominated were cool-pigeons to catch our votes. But did such a whig candidate inspire confidence enough, in a democrat abolitionist to obtain his vote; or vice versa; in a whig abolition voter, if the candidate were democratic? So nothing but harm was gained.—We boxed the compass of expedients. The Church, Congress, the candidates, they "were all broken reeds on whose sharp points hope bled and expectation died." We had made the experiment; and had sat down satisfied that we could not bribe men to do right, for the hope of gaining or the fear of losing our votes.

This brought the abolitionists to a solemn pause. They looked all aroud the horizon for help; they saw Liberty everywhere in the dust; the moral and pecuniary resources of the nation evaporating; the Republic through its great parties and denominations, with her literature both in church and state, bowing down before the great monster slavery. What should be done? Was this god-like enterprise to be abandoned in despair? Must the avenging sword, the midnight flame, the forlorn shriek of despair, be the only remedy for this crime?

God forbid, that the fair plains of the South should be delivered over to the Vandalism of such a terrible necessity! We found on review that heretofore we ourselves had voted for President and members of Congress who had refused to lift an ounce of the weight that crushed the slave, yea more, voted to continue the fetters on, and in fact were the body-guard of slavery.

By a little reflection we saw ourselves thro' the ballot-box forbidding the slave's deliverance, and refusing the repeal of a single law, by which he was bonnd

In looking this question over in its amazing breadth, we in the fear of God, determined to discharge our duty, without any relation to measures of subtil contrivance, or of expediency; and if we did our individual duty, on others than ourselves must be fixed the sin of the continuance of slavery.

We are born under a selfocracy, and came from our Creator with a charter commanding us to do the greatest good to the greatest number; and to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us." This is believed to be one of the highest religious duties we can perform in this world. We are bound to select and vote for those legislative and executive officers, who will employ their best faculties, and all the constitutional power within their reach, "to break every yoke and let the oppressed go free"—We stand at the ballot-box legislating; for our representative is but our agent, our servant, the mere reflection of our concentrated will.

Every prayer, argument, speech, gift or act, this side of the ballot-box, is moral suasion; if the vote is cast for a liberty candidate, then we test and prove the sincerity of the prayer; then we perceive that moral suasion has done its work. Our prayer, argument or moral suasion, with its infinite appliances, may be likened to a court of justice, the opening, the evidence, the pleadings of the counsel and the charging of the judge; this I call moral suasion, but the verdict of the jury is like the vote at the ballot-box; that is the great fact, this is the great act of power. But the man who talks of argument and prayer and moral suasion, and still votes for a President, or a member of Congress who will vote the fetters of the slave continued on, that the slave still weep for blows inflicted, that he still be deprived of his wife, child, Bible and hope, and will not vote a claim to be taken off; in this view, and in the eyes of God, moral suasion have never had a controlling effect, or he would not so vote; for his agents voting this way or refusing to vote that, is the act of the voter as much as the representatives.

The voter votes in Congress yea or nay thro' his representative. In voting for a member of Congress, or President, or a member of the State Legislature (who votes for the Senators in Congress) our acts affect for weal or woe every bondman or freeman in this great country.—What other act in the even tenor of a common man's life, can equal this? Is it not a high ballot that he demonstrates before God and man the piety and purity of the act?

Let us look at the anti-slavery and pro-slavery law-givers standing at the ballot-box ready to deposit their votes, for a President or members of Congress. The Liberty Party man has on his vote the name of a genuine abolitionist, as a candidate for Congress, and that name is concentrated his whole code of Christian humanity; in that name on that ballot is impliedly these words by the voter; "I vote for the greatest good of the greatest number; I vote the Declaration of Independence a solemn & practical reality; I vote the right of petition be restored; I vote a slave is a man and not a thing, and has a better right to his own body, and is his labor, and to his wife and children than any other person on earth; I vote the slave have his own Bible, and be permitted to read it and worship God as he sees fit; I vote that his little children be sent to school; I vote slavery abolished in the District of Columbia, and in Florida, forthwith; I vote the internal slave-trade between the States be abolished, that the internal trade be punished as piracy on the high seas; I vote for the repeal of the act of February of 1793, by which the slave holder pursues the fugitive slave in the free states; I vote that the republican form of government guaranteed to each State in the Constitution, is to be construed in accordance with the Declaration of Independence, in which the government is made for the benefit of the governed; and that all men are created free and equal; I vote all acts of the several State Legislatures conflicting with the form of government aforesaid described, be declared null and void, even if at set every slave free as its consequence; I vote that it becomes necessary for the common defence of our country under the war power, to take the southern chattels, called slaves and convert them into men, and put arms in their hands; I then vote the same will be a constitutional mode of giving them liberty, and to hold the converse of this is to declare slavery must be continued, as a thing more important than the salvation of this nation from a foreign foe, or the integrity of the Union in case of domestic insurrection; I vote that either the war power, or the treaty power may in certain contingencies be competent sources of power for the abolition of slavery in this nation."—The vote goes in, and the voter's legislation and control over the slave are already gone, for two years.

Let us see what is contained in the eye of Reason, in the *name* of a pro-slavery candidate for Congress. The pro-slavery voter stands likewise the legislator of two years, at the ballot box, and on that vote of his in the name of the candidate is written in the eye of experience these other words: "I vote that my candidate for Congress if elected, act with and under the dominion of his party, and if it be necessary to preserve the power of our party that in casting his votes, he bow down to the slaveholders, then so I vote; I vote the Declaration of Independence is a rhetorical flourish, that all men are not born free and equal; I vote slavery be continued in the District of Columbia, and between slave States; I vote that I vote that a master has a better right to his slave, and to that *slave's wife* and children, than the slave has to *himself or them*; I vote the slave have no Bible; I vote that the whip, cudgel and fetter be used as the master sees fit, I vote the act of 1793 be unrepealed. In fact I vote that slavery remain one of the "institutions of this country." The vote has gone in, the voter's power is spent, and that vote has sent a tornado shock through the frame of the most remote slave, also dug his bosom in the waters of the Mexican Gulf, or lifts his hoe on the banks of the Perdido.

How can a man pray and plead 720 days for the slave, and on the 730th day, when he is armed with the power of a sovereign, when he is about to do an act which has more power and efficacy, than all he has said and done for two years past? prostitute it and go and vote for the master!—vote all he has said and pray'ed for the slave to be bold hypocrisy?—What would the master say to such a voter? "Ah! well done good and faithful servant, you keep your prayers, tears and pleas for the slave, but in the trying moment, you give the *power* to me. It is all I ask." If the slave were to upbraid an abolitionist, who had voted for the master, or a pro-slavery candidate; would not such a voter have to apologise and say, "Oh! Slave, have I not talked, plead and given my money, to wake up the public to your case, for 720 days, and do you suppose I am also to vote for you! no, that is *too much*: my 730th day is my own, my vote I give to my party, and *your* master." "But," says the slave, "give your 729 days of prayer, moral suasion and alms to my master, and only vote for me by will employ their best faculties, and all the constitutional power within their reach, "to break every yoke and let the oppressed go free"—We stand at the ballot-box legislating; for our representative is but our agent, our servant, the mere reflection of our concentrated will.

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The voter votes in Congress yea or nay thro' his representative. In voting for a member of Congress, or President, or a member of the State Legislature (who votes for the Senators in Congress) our acts affect for weal or woe every bondman or freeman in this great country.—What other act in the even tenor of a common man's life, can equal this? Is it not a high ballot that he demonstrates before God and man the piety and purity of the act?

Let us look at the anti-slavery and pro-slavery law-givers standing at the ballot-box ready to deposit their votes, for a President or members of Congress. The Liberty Party man has on his vote the name of a genuine abolitionist, as a candidate for Congress, and that name is concentrated his whole code of Christian humanity; in that name on that ballot is impliedly these words by the voter; "I vote for the greatest good of the greatest number; I vote the Declaration of Independence a solemn & practical reality; I vote the right of petition be restored; I vote a slave is a man and not a thing, and has a better right to his own body, and is his labor, and to his wife and children than any other person on earth; I vote the slave have his own Bible, and be permitted to read it and worship God as he sees fit; I vote that his little children be sent to school; I vote slavery abolished in the District of Columbia, and in Florida, forthwith; I vote the internal slave-trade between the States be abolished, that the internal trade be punished as piracy on the high seas; I vote for the repeal of the act of February of 1793, by which the slave holder pursues the fugitive slave in the free states; I vote that the republican form of government guaranteed to each State in the Constitution, is to be construed in accordance with the Declaration of Independence, in which the government is made for the benefit of the governed; and that all men are created free and equal; I vote all acts of the several State Legislatures conflicting with the form of government aforesaid described, be declared null and void, even if at set every slave free as its consequence; I vote that it becomes necessary for the common defence of our country under the war power, to take the southern chattels, called slaves and convert them into men, and put arms in their hands; I then vote the same will be a constitutional mode of giving them liberty, and to hold the converse of this is to declare slavery must be continued, as a thing more important than the salvation of this nation from a foreign foe, or the integrity of the Union in case of domestic insurrection; I vote that either the war power, or the treaty power may in certain contingencies be competent sources of power for the abolition of slavery in this nation."—The vote goes in, and the voter's legislation and control over the slave are already gone, for two years.

Let us see what is contained in the eye of Reason, in the *name* of a pro-slavery candidate for Congress. The pro-slavery voter stands likewise the legislator of two years, at the ballot box, and on that vote of his in the name of the candidate is written in the eye of experience these other words: "I vote that my candidate for Congress if elected, act with and under the dominion of his party, and if it be necessary to preserve the power of our party that in casting his votes, he bow down to the slaveholders, then so I vote; I vote the Declaration of Independence is a rhetorical flourish, that all men are not born free and equal; I vote slavery be continued in the District of Columbia, and between slave States; I vote that I vote that a master has a better right to his slave, and to that *slave's wife* and children, than the slave has to *himself or them*; I vote the slave have no Bible; I vote that the whip, cudgel and fetter be used as the master sees fit, I vote the act of 1793 be unrepealed. In fact I vote that slavery remain one of the "institutions of this country." The vote has gone in, the voter's power is spent, and that vote has sent a tornado shock through the frame of the most remote slave, also dug his bosom in the waters of the Mexican Gulf, or lifts his hoe on the banks of the Perdido.

How can a man pray and plead 720 days for the slave, and on the 730th day, when he is armed with the power of a sovereign, when he is about to do an act which has more power and efficacy, than all he has said and done for two years past? prostitute it and go and vote for the master!—vote all he has said and pray'ed for the slave to be bold hypocrisy?—What would the master say to such a voter? "Ah! well done good and faithful servant, you keep your prayers, tears and pleas for the slave, but in the trying moment, you give the *power* to me. It is all I ask." If the slave were to upbraid an abolitionist, who had voted for the master, or a pro-slavery candidate; would not such a voter have to apologise and say, "Oh! Slave, have I not talked, plead and given my money, to wake up the public to your case, for 720 days, and do you suppose I am also to vote for you! no, that is *too much*: my 730th day is my own, my vote I give to my party, and *your* master." "But," says the slave, "give your 729 days of prayer, moral suasion and alms to my master, and only vote for me by

casting your vote for an abolitionist, and I am content."

Have we not tried these parties long enough? On the free states rests the crime of slavery. There are 1,700,000 law-makers of voters in this land, and more than one million of them live in the free states. We can elect President, Vice President and a majority of the House of Representatives, and 16 Senators from the free states, who with the Vice President make a majority of the Senate. Is not the mighty power of legislation contained in a vote as applied to this amazing question, one which involves all that is vital in Christianity, dreadful in the day of everlasting retribution? Does not this voting assume an aspect as sublime as the Christian religion can make it, in thus casting our duty to our fellow, whose shackles we can strike off or retain? We consider it a most glorious revolution, in our own minds, by which we see this law-making or voting to be a duty which exceeds in its consequences to our brother man, any other act, which we can perform, touching the liberties and hopes in time and eternity of two and a half millions of our fellow men. We have acted as though the importance of human liberty on every soil, was neither sin nor holiness, right nor wrong, however done. We have acted as though voting was a sort of neutral act, in which there was neither sin nor holiness, right nor wrong, however done. We have acted as though voting was a act performed on a neutral territory, where the power of God did not extend on the one side for approbation, nor on the other for condemnation. The American Ballot has been treated in such a way, in the pulpit and out, that a stranger might suppose we were political infidels.

Now may we not thank God that the anti-slavery cause has been the means of opening our eyes to the dignity and responsibility of legislating with the fear of God before our eyes. We cannot bind and load our brother with fetters at the ballot-box, and be less guilty before God, than he who does it on a plantation. Alas, God, that he who does it on a plantation. Alas, God, that so many of our 26 times the American voters have gone up to the ballot-box and taken the awful sin and crime of slavery on their own souls, by refusing to listen to the Souvenir of the slave, but have joined hands with the wicked master, and silenced the mournful cry of God's unpitied poor, and added law to law, weight to weight, to his insupportable burdens. Let each man legislate under his deep accountability to Heaven, and there would never be a pro-slavery vote cast again.

I hope it may not be inconsistent with your other editorial duties, to give us the benefit of your reflections, in the Philanthropist, on the topics, to which I have rather alluded than discussed. We know that Dr. Bailey has most justly, for his great talents, devotion and steadfast sincerity to our cause, obtained over the anti-slavery mind of this country, a wide-spread influence. Your power to carry forward our cause from the foregoing reasons and from your local position, is great. I therefore feel a deep solicitude to know there is no real difference of opinion among the friends of our glorious cause, as to the extent of the evil we deprecate, or in the remedy we would adopt.

With sentiments of the highest
respect, I am your sincere friend,
ALVAN STEWART.

To the Editor of the Detroit Free Press.

MR. O'CONNELL.

SIR—In your paper of the 23d instant, just put into my hands, there is an extract of a publication made by Bishop Hughes, of New York, in which a doubt is insinuated as to the genuineness of the anti-slavery address, to Irishmen in the name of Mr. O'Connell, Father Mathew, Doctor Madden and sixty thousand Irishmen. In the extract, which is all I have seen of the publication, there is nothing to show that Bishop Hughes adduces *any evidence* even to give color to the charge.

It seems abundantly strange that one so intelligent as the Right Reverend gentleman, and so well informed as he ought to be, must be, as to the sentiments of Mr. O'Connell, Father Mathew, Dr. Madden, and the Irish *at home universally*, on the subject of slavery, and in absence of all evidence should deny the genuineness of so remarkable a document. One so skeptical must be prepared almost to doubt the existence of Father Mathew himself, & of the glorious temperance reformation, with which he has been the instrument under God, of blessing not only his own country, but ours. Nor is it, for one of Bishop Hughes's character and official station, putting *but* a trifle to hazard. It is no light thing in any one, and it is a very serious thing for him, who stands before the country clothed with the influence of a diocesan teacher of christian ethics, recklessly to impute a base fraud to his neighbors and fellow citizens for right well does the Right Reverend gentleman know, that the guilt of thus making such an imputation is, in a moral point of view, but little behind the guilt of perpetrating the fraud itself.

I propose, now, Sir, through the medium of the Free Press, the same that has given currency in this part of the country, if not approbation, to the fraudulent charge, to furnish some evidence in the case, not conclusive, readily admit; but eration by all who have an interest in the subject; especially worthy is it of the respectful consideration of the Right Reverend gentleman, in as much as it is fitted in some degree to relieve his mind from the uneasiness it must now be laboring under, by showing him what his generous spirit *probably* is not to fear, that the abolitionists *probably* are not, at least, innocent of the base trickery which, in his prejudice and rashness, he has unhappily imputed to them.

I became acquainted with Mr. O'Connell in the summer of 1840 whilst attending the London anti-slavery conference, together with some fifteen or twenty other American delegates. Mr. O'Connell was also a member of the conference, and although Parliament was in session at the time, was daily present at the anti-slavery meetings, partaking in the proceedings. As soon as Mr. O'Connell had learned that his countrymen, who had sought rx the United States, a higher liberty than they were permitted to enjoy, or even hope for in the land of their birth, had been beguiled into co-operation with parties *here* opposed to liberty, with parties who were seen rivalling each other to gain the favor of slave-breeders and slave-sellers, the great enemies of American liberty, and this by incessantly heaping on the abolitionists, (the only party representatives of the cause of liberty among us,) all manner of obloquy, contempt, injustice and oppression, the propriety of an address to them, by an old, well known and well tried friend, very naturally suggested itself to him.

Mr. O'Connell seemed to think, that all that was necessary to be done to insure from his American countrymen such a course in future, as he felt confident was in strict unison with their unperverted feelings and judgment in every conflict between freedom & slavery, was to bring them seriously to reflect, to exhort them faithfully but affectionately to turn from their error; and to tell them how much they have grieved their fathers and mothers and brothers and sisters and their whole kith and kin left behind, by dishonoring the cause of liberty now everywhere associated with the name of Irishman.—In O'Connell at once gave the American delegation to understand, that, if he could command the necessary time from his official and other indispensable duties, he would prepare an address in *his own name*, before they should sail to the U. S. Multiplied and incessant public engagements, it is supposed, prevented him from doing so.

My last interview with Mr. O'Connell was in October 1840, a few days before I sailed for N. York, at a repeal meeting in Dublin. Notwithstanding his almost unremitted personal occupation for three or four hours during the meeting, he found time before he left it, to speak to me about the address; and to assure me, (and it was among the last things he said,) that I might rely on being neither forgotten nor neglected —and on its being written and sent to this country as soon as it could be prepared. That it was not sent out as soon as it was expected, was, doubtless, owing to the judicious change of the original plan, and to the time required for obtaining the signatures of sixty thousand of his countrymen, who desired to be associated with him in the sublime, yet peaceful effort to advance the cause of human liberty on every soil,

convention in Exeter Hall, the "Noble Duke" made a genuine democratic speech. You do great injustice to the intelligence and good sense of an American citizen, as well as to the philanthropists of Europe when you represent the latter as at all disposed to interfere with the rights or the political concerns of this nation. You assume more than will be conceded to you, when you demand that the violence of the slaveholder shall receive even the silent sanction of all the world besides, and that men transcend their powers who speak freely of the most wicked abominations of this violence. How slow are American slaveholders and their abettors to learn that there is nothing to sustain them in their violence, not even to form the semblance of an apology either in the principles of justice, or in the inspirations of liberty, or in the elements of benevolence, or in the nature of law, or in the attributes of God. Their murderous ferocity against the right of petition and the freedom of speech; their howlings at the approach of an abolitionist; their agony at the presence of a newspaper reporter, and the reading of a liberty document in their deliberative assemblies; their threats of assassination of Liberty men if caught in their jurisdiction; and their universal approbation of the lynch code, demonstrate to all hot themselves, that they have no confidence in the correctness or justice of their position, and that their cause is necessarily suicidal.

Abolitionists can bear reproach, if their unflinching advocacy of the truth, and their espousal of the slave's cause be the only reason for it. I greatly misapprehend their character, if, Sir, you do not, in your greatest needs, find them your best friends and most efficient helpers. Not indeed to aid you in riveting the chains upon the slave; nor to sympathise with you when the inexpressible love of freedom in the humanity you chattelize converts by flight whet you shamefully and most wickedly call property in MEN; nor to associate with your bloodhounds, as the most despicable of hirelings, to chase them in their most commendable flight, so full of chivelry—but to aid you in the kind, and protracted labor necessary to prepare the slaves to appreciate and enjoy their liberty, as estimable and quiet citizens. Help upon it, Sir, the time is near when you will need such aid. You now unhappily regard them as your foes. This is because you delight in wrong and violence, and make the body and mind of a brother your footstool, and gratuitously, presumptuously, assume that you cannot be free, unless the man who does your work is a slave. But let this same brother, prostrated and robbed by your own hand, stand up before you as it is his right to do, a *freeman*, and pay him his wages; and suffer your enthralled judgment to be guided by truth, and you will see, in the genuine abolitionist, the only consistent republican, and welcome him to your counsels.

My agency to Britain was in aid of the Oberlin Institute, which receives students irrespective of color, and which in a strong and practical sympathy with the oppressed colored people in this country is doing much for their relief. To redress their wrongs, and to give them a place as citizens, is a work of great self-sacrifice and labor, demanding patience, faith and quenchless love. In this work, which must be accomplished to rescue our country from approaching ruin, the Oberlin Institute will do all it can, and rejoice in all that is achieved for the same end elsewhere. Its students have already furnished upwards of 33 years of school teaching to the colored people in Ohio, more than half of which has been without any pecuniary compensation, and all accompanied with self denial and obloquy. And they find fields of labor among the colored people in the other states, in Canada and in the West Indies. Your good sense will suggest that such incipient measures are indubitable omens of success.

Our friends gave their money in aid of this Institution as a testimony against American slavery, and in sympathy with the oppressed black man and his friends, and to show their attachment for American liberty, assured that the continuance of our slavery will be the sacrifice of the freedom of the country. No donation was received from any individual, or in any way, which gave any expression of the views of the Government of that nation, or any office under it towards the Government of the U. States; and tho attempt to prove the existence of an English party among us, and that abolitionists are in British pay, savors too much of sheer political infatuation to deserve a notice except for the information of a class of people who have, unhappily, been too long misled. Various institutions of learning in this country have received British money, and for greater sums, I have no doubt, than were bestowed upon Oberlin, and who ever thought of clearing the agents, who collected this money, with foreign enemies, plotting the overthrow of our liberty, or of reprobating these seminaries as having forfeited their charter, and public confidence. Liberty and science have been regarded as twin sisters. But it seems that even literature must be put under the ban, if the black man is permitted to share in its blessings, and its hopes and energies are arrayed against the American slaveholders.—Be assured, *Sir*, of my earnest wishes for your speedy return to sober sense and common justice in your treatment of the rights of the people, irrespective of color, and of my continual prayers that the whole mass of slaveholders in our land may see and feel that usurpations over the slave give them no divine right to assail the liberties of freemen; and that they may hasten to place themselves, on the subject of human rights in a correct and just position before the country, in the estimation of christendom, at the bar of reason and justice, end in the sight of God.

Respectfully,

JOHN KEEP.

For the Philanthropist.

Extract of an Address delivered at Dover Ill., by the Rev. Asa Donaldson.

A voice from the West; but it echoes back from the East and over the South.

After ages of night had hung over the subject of slavery, we rose to action in behalf of the suffering, directed by the feeble glimmering of twilight. That tha course of action should be raised in our onward march, was to be expected. This occurred in the rising position taken in the temperance reformation, as it progressed onward, without changing the essential features of the object. In its incipient state, it presented some feeble action to regulate the use of ardent spirits, without attempting its exclusion. Next, some bold action for its banishment. Subsequently the traffic was prononnced an immorality, which to many seemed the highest daring of ultraism. Next, in order, the hosts were marshalled against wine, and all that can intoxicate: and Tee-Totalism has come to be regarded as the only effectual reformer. Last of all, Drunkards rose to reform drunkards, and Washingtonians are gloriously waving on their banners.

The time has now come to elevate the standard of Anti-slavery action, and to give a new edition of its flag; on which we will inscribe the following title and motto. TITLE. Northern Freedom and Anti-Slavery. MOTTO. *White* slaves of the North must be released from pitting on the chain, and *Black* slaves at the South from wearing them.

Northern freedom is involved in this enterprise, because the South are represented in Congress, partly by the number of free persons, and partly their property in slaves; while the North are represented only by the number of free persons. By 25 Southern representatives, sent there, by their bills of property, the scale is turned in favor of the South, on most questions which come before Congress, involving our opposing interests. Were the north permitted to add to the number of their representation upon the same ratio, by any estimate of property, it would give the north more than 50 additional representatives in Congress.

The constitution enslaves us to the South, in the important service of helping them hold their slaves, tho' it may be against both our will and conscience, and without reward. Were it a matter of national interest, it might be made a matter of national compact, but now the north are forced to support the sectional interests of others. In all other cases, sectional interests are left to the action of state legislation, as their right; provided they do not encroach upon the rights of other portions of the union; but southern slavery encroaches upon the rights of conscience even, by a compulsory power of the constitution.

Therefore to assert the right of freemen, it becomes necessary for the North to act with union and decision for an alteration of two items of the constitution of the United States. One in Art. I. Section 2- item 3. The The other in Art. IV. Section 2. item 3,—That in Art. first is in these words:—"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be inelnded within this union, according to numbers; which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a number of years, and excluding Indians, not taxed, 3-5ths of all other persons."

The other in Art. IV. is as follows:

"No person bound to service or labor, in one state under the laws thereof, escaping to another, shall in consequence of any law or regulations therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered upon claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

By the above ratio of representation the man who has 5 slaves, has the same weight of representation as four of our northern freeman, (northern slaves, I should have said) if he has 500 slaves he balances against 301, and and if 1000 against 601.

In 1833 Mr. Adams said in Congress, that it would be easy to prove from the history of this government, that its decisions had been effected by less majorities than the number of representatives allowed to the South by counting their property in slavery; and that it had ever been in fact, the ruling power of this government. Hence, of 12 Presidential elections, 10 had resulted in favor of southern candidates. This article of course recognizes and sustains slavery.

The IV. article which pledges northern help in putting on the manacles makes our influence in slavery the grand influence, more fatal to the slave than all the south can do without our aid. Could the slave clap his hands and sing his freedom song as in Canada, by leaping the boundary line between the slave states and the free, the south would soon resort to the abolition of slavery, as the only means of retaining labourers on their soil.

While the Constitution remains in its present form, the fugitive by falling in amongst us, falls among thieves who have struck hands with his master to render his escape impossible: to doom him to perpetual slavery and deliver him up in death.

Hereby, the North are slaveholders; now holding thousands in slavery at the South: Yes; we are all, and every one of us slaveholders. If any are disposed to deny this, let them ask the South to give us a constitution, suffering us to take our hand from this work of death. Will they reply with southern affability, most cheerfully shall your request be granted! Will they say we account the northern pledge in the Constitution of no service to us in holding our slaves. No; neither can the fugitive whom we have delivered up, ever feel while receiving the irons to which we have doomed him, that he has been in a land of freedom, which protects its subjects. Nor can any thing wash us from this blood in the sight of God, till we have made our best effort to alter the constitution: for by Heaven's high commands we are forbidden to be partakers of other men's sins.

The matter of equal rights you may wave, if it better suits you to have your northern members crushed in every day's sitting of Congress, than to assert your rights; but when the command comes down upon you from heaven with unyielding claims, "be not partakar of other men's sins;" then is there to be no balancing of human wills and human wishes; but prompt obedience to a "thus saith the Lord." You may not say the Constitution cannot be amended, for we should rely on the divine interposition, in such an enterprise, especially as we have assurance, that "promotion cometh neither from the East, nor from the West, nor from the South; but God is the judge; he putteth down one and seeteth up another."

We may not even care to know that an effort to alter the Constitution would succeed, in order to our making the trial, for we may rest assured that even an unsuccessful trial would wash us from this sin in the sight of God; while without it, we never can be washed. We should not delay a moment, lest the visitations of heaven upon the South and upon the North may be too swift for us.

Long ago did Thomas Jefferson, tho' a sceptic, and of a slaveholding state, very justly remark, "I tremble for my country, when, I reflect, that God is just."

No well judged veneration for Washington, and for our Fathers should deter us from a manly effort to alter the Constitution: why they have done so much that is noble in giving untold value to the Constitution, that they have left us nothing of good to do, by adding to its excellencies, only to strike out the attendant blots which mar its beauty: and could they now speak, they might indeed applaud us for walking in their virtues; but how would they reproach us for perpetuating their errors, and immortalizing the influence of those acts of theirs, for which possibly they had need of mercy's cleansing power; if indeed we may account them faulty in the matter in question? for it becomes us to allow that we have not carried out the work commenced by them, and passed over to our hands for consummation. They provided in the Constitution for the abolition of the slave trade at an anticipated period, and it was carried into effect, without protongation for a single year beyond the appointed time, 1808. This they designed to make the harbinger of complete redemption to the slave: anticipating that the abolition of slavery would soon follow. But what can we, their sons claim to have done to carry out their plans and works of benevolence?—We should imagine that we hear the whisper from the graves, "Ye sons and heirs of our rich legacy of bloodbought liberty, have you done nothing to consummate our design of blessing the slaves with that liberty we purchased for them, as well as for you, our sons! How should we tremble over our neglect, should the grave entomb a voice like this! The thought shall be enough. We will arise speedily; and carrying out the design of those noble spirits, will dispense heaven's mercy to the sons of Africa.

Do you ask how shall we direct our effort, in the great enterprise? The answer is at hand. Let the subjects here sketched in a summary form be elaborately drawn out to the public view, and eloquent appeals be made to the humanity, patriotism and religion of the North; till by the divine blessing you find yourselves in circumstances permitting you to cherish that glow of humanity, which warms your bosoms, and would lead you to bless your fellow men with that liberty, which for yourselves you count dearer than life itself: ever remembering that the Constitution now demands, that you be deaf to the pleadings of your compassion for the poor innocents.

Let a united voice exclude forever from this enterprise the polluting hand of any isolated party. Either in politics or religion. Let all such meddling be reprobated by every man of every name. The moment you identify it with, any given party, you enlist against it an equal, or superior force from another quarter.

Had the temperance cause been made the cause of a given party, its death knell had long since been sounded in our ears. By a union of all parties, the cry of a union of church and State, once employed as the battle axe of opposition to the temperance cause, has long been silent as the roar of Noah's flood. All this, because the perverting influence of party action, never found admission in the ranks of the temperance host.

Rightly prosecuted, the cause here espoused must enlist all just principles of humanity, patriotism and religion.

Thus prosecuted, the opposition to be overcome, would not be a hundred per cent. of that overcome in the same way by the cause of temperance. There, a wicked array of habit, appetite and interest, presented a formidable front of opposition; yet the triumphs of that cause extended far beyond the boundaries of our nation.

All opposing interests are comparatively feeble at the north, in regard to northern freedom and anti-slavery, if presented as above. But present it in any form that may seem seditious—leave out of view our northern participation, be pledged to the South; and let the blighting influence of party action be thrown upon the cause, and we all shall remain slaveholders together; both the South and the North: and shall learn too late the well known truth of Mr. Jefferson's well chosen words, that "The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us" and hold us up in this sin.

Let us seek wisdom and prosecute this object with the zeal which it merits, and we may cherish high hopes that the cause will be made divine by God's blessing; which shall bring us off with victories and with songs.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI,
Wednesday Morning, May 18, 1842.

FOR GOVERNOR,

LEICESTER KING.

OUR ANNIVERSARY.

The 7th Anniversary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society will be held at Mt. Vernon, Knox county, Tuesday, the 7th of June next.

The Societies are requested to appoint their delegates immediately—and it is hoped that our friends will come prepared with warm hearts and liberal hands.

A State Political Convention of Liberty voters, is advertised for the same place on the 8th. We presume it will not meet till the 9th—owing to the sessions of the anniversary of the society.

☞ The duty of preparing for the Anniversary, has left us no time this week for editorials.

OUR ANNIVERSARY.

We take it for granted that we shall have a large gathering at our Anniveresary. Mt. Vernon is a pleasant town, in a central part of the State, about 60 miles north of Columbus, of easy access—and the roads will doubtless be in fine order for travel. We expect a large attendance particularly from the Western Reserve. The anti-slavery men of Mt. Vernon have held a meeting, passed resolutions approving of the appointment of the anniversary there, giving a cordial invitation to abolitionists every where, and appointing a committee of arrangements.

We wish it to be distinctly understood, that the annual meeting of the *society* is not to be a *political* one. Abolitionists in Ohio have maintained a distinction between society, and political party action. The distinction is becoming more and more prominent. Let all then who hold that it is the duty of the people of this country *to seek the immediate abolition of slavery*, no matter what their political or denominational distinctions, rally at the Convention in Mt. Vernon.

On the 9th a Liberty Convention will be held in the same place, at which we also hope to see a large attendance. We shall be present at both, for we go for both modes of action.—Others who think differently, may attend either the Anniversary, or the political convention, just as they choose. Anti-slavery men in Ohio are very tolerant—they have no ideas of falling out with each other's peculiarities.

A thorough-going abolitionist, we still stands aloof from the Liberty party, save time since wrote to us, that he thought the distinction, we have endeavored to maintain, is too much like a humbug. He is very much mistaken. The distinction does exist indeed *in fact*—and then, by maintaining it, would secure the co-operation of a considerable nober of persons, just like himself, who would tolaced *hors de combat* if the Liberty party we all, and our societies nothing. Besides, waknow many, who will act with energy in thparty, and on sound principles too, who will take comparatively little interest in the socies.

The time may come, when all kinof action against slavery, will take the forthher of political party, or denominational, and, but all we have to say is,—that time hasnt yet come.

FEMALE A. S. CONVENTION.

Seventh day morning, 30th of 4th mo. 1842 Pursuant to a previous call, a meeting was organized Jconomy, Wayne county, Ia., under the name of thIana Female Anti-Slavery Convention.

Lucinda Swain was appointed President,
Mary Hocket 1st Vice President,
Rachel S. Thornburg 2d do
Elizabeth W. Moore 3d do
Julia Ann French, Secretary,
Malinda Maulsby Assistant Secretary,
Hannah M. Spillard corresponding Sec,
Betsey Stanton Assistant Cor. Sec,
And Susan Taylor Treasurer.

Lydia Osborne, Huldah Wickersham, Delia Unthank, Hannah Hiatt, Hannah M. Spillard, the Green, Eunice Swain and Minerva Maulsby were appointed a committee to prepare business for the meeting.

The business committee reported a roll of ladies who being called, were mostly present.

Then adjourned till 2 o'clock P. M.

At 2 o'clock P. M. the meeting convened and went to adjournment.

The business committee reported a series of resolutions, which, with one exception, were adopted by unanimous vote.

1st. Resolved, That this meeting deeply sympathises with the honorable Ex President J. Q. Adams under his recent persecutions, and we highly approve of the manly, noble and Patriotic course pursued by him in the House of Representatives of the United States, in support of the inherent right of petition; believing his conduct on that occasion entitles him to the respect and confidence of the American people, and that his name will be handed down to posterity as an example worthy of imitation, while the conduct of his persecutors will be lost in contemptuous oblivion, or only be remembered to be execrated.

2d. Whereas, freedom of speech is guaranteed to the people of the Union by their constitution, and is indispensibly necessary in transacting business of public policy, therefore

Resolved, That the passing of a vote of censure upon the honorable Joshua R. Giddings by the House of Representatives of the United States, for no other crime than that of freely expressing the will of his constituents, is a violation and subversion of constitutional liberty, and directly at war with the principles of free government, and whereas, all people have an inalienable right to life, liberty and the privilege of pursuing their own happiness—therefore

Resolved, That any infringement of such rights is a violation of the principles of Christianity and a usurpation of that which belongs to the Deity alone.

3d. Whereas the purifying of the political as well as the natural atmosphere has now come, and ever must be attended with commotion; therefore

Resolved, That in the signs of the times we can discover no real cause of discouragement, but rather an incentive to more active perseverance.

4th. Whereas we believe the time has arrived for those who profess to commiserate the condition of the slave, prayerfully to examine the ground they occupy, and see how far their conduct corresponds with their profession; for if we deny to the slaveholders the right to hold their slaves as property, and exert their labor without rendering an equivalent therefor; how can we have a right to the goods thus obtained, and convert them to our use and gratification? Justice and consistency deny us such a right. Therefore

Resolved, That we will endeavor both by example and precept, to discourage the use of all articles obtained by and through such oppression, lest we be found to strengthen the hands of the oppressor.

5th. Resolved, That we publish an address to the citizens of the nominally free States. And that Lydia Beard, Lydia Osborn, Huldah Wickersham, Rachel Way, Elizabeth W. Moore and Betsey Stanton, be appointed to use exertions to procure subscriptions for printing 500 copies for circulation.

9th. Resolved, That in view of the benefits which may arise from the timely circulation of an address issued by a Convention of American women assembled in Philadelphia in 1839, to the Society of Friends; we adopt and republish said address in order to promote its more extensive circulation. And that Lucinda Swain, Mary Hocket, Minerva Maulsby, Rachel P. Green, Rachel S. Thunburg and Emily Gardner be appointed a committee to attend to the publication of 500 copies for distribution. And pay the expense by a draft on the treasurica or otherwise.

7th. Resolved, That this Convention thinks it would have a tendency to advance the cause in which we are engaged if a general correspondence were solicited with the various Anti-Slavery Associations in Philadelphia and elsewhere; inasmuch as we believe that in union there is strength, and that by acting in harmonious concert, we might more speedily accomplish the objects of the Society. Therefore resolved, That we authorize our Corresponding Secretaries to take such measures as they may deem expedient to promote the same.

8th. Resolved, That we request the Editors of the Free Soil Banner, Western Freeman, and the Philanthropist to publish the proceedings of this convention, and also the appeal and address which have been adopted by this Convention.

9th. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention that we have been to near again at the time of the meeting of the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society at Newport in the 9th month next.

LUCINDA SWAIN, *Pres.*
JULIA ANN FRENCH, *Sec.*

Intelligence from Africa.

Letters from Messrs. Steele, Raymond and Wilson, the Missionaries who accompanied the Mendians to Africa, were received here on the 11th inst. from Sierra Leone, as late ne February 27th. They are highly interesting, and we hope they bring much incressing information, a synopsis of which it is the object of this communication to lay before the public. They arrived at Sierra Leone on the 15th of January, in fifty days from New York, and all their stores, tools, implements of agriculture, &c. were admitted free of duty, and even without examination. The particulars respecting the voyage are contained in letters which have not yet come to hand. They met with a very favorable reception from the Government there, and also from the English Missionaries, who seemed anxious to lend all the assistance they could to the enterprise.

Dr. Ferguson, the acting Governor, was promoting their comfort and affording them all the aid in his power. He offered Mr. Sicel a Government boat, with a crew and a superintendent, if he chose to depart immediately; but he recommended his staying until the arrival of the successor of the late Governor, Sir John Jeremie. On the 30th January, Sir Geo. Rodney Dallas, the new Governor, arrived from England, and proffered every necessary assistance to the missionaries. He expressed himself very favorable towards them and those under their charge, and advised Mr. Steele to proceed on the exploring tour he had contemplated, ascertain the disposition of the people, report to him his success, and state what he thought necessary from the British Government.

The health of the missionaries was unimpaired, with the exception of Mrs. Raymond and her infant daughter, who had been slightly visited with the fever, but were convalescent.—The returned Mendians are all with, and under the care of, Mr. Raymond at Freetown, which "is situated on the Sierra Leone River, about five miles from Cape Sierra Leone." He is engaged, as far as he can appropriate the time, in giving them instruction. He mentions that some of them seemed overjoyed at the idea of recommencing their studies. Some of the Mendians had returned, in some degree, to their former licentious habits, and seemed unwilling to brook control, but by his prompt and judicious measures Mr. Raymond appeared to have put a stop to a great measure the tendency of a return to heathenish life. The liberated Africans at Sierra Leone are from about sixty-six different tribes, and a large part of them are Koosos or Mendians. From 200 to 600, it was conjectured, might accompany the Amistad Africans if it should be thought desirable, when the missionaries were determined on the best location.

On the 3d of February, Mr. Steele, accompanied by Cinque, Ban-na, Fuli-wa, Covey, &c., started on his exploration, from which he had not returned at the latest date. Mr. Dove, one of the English Wesleyan Missionaries, was to have accompanied Mr. Steele, but sickness in his family prevented. Mr. Steele, therefore, was the only white man in the exploring party. Mr. Raymond informs us that a war had broken out about that time among the tribes in the region to which Mr. Steele had gone. Mr. S had a letter from the Colonial Secretary to one of the chiefs who was at the head of this war.—It was at first feared that this war would frustrate the object of his exploring tour, but the war soon terminated, and Mr. Steele was probably prosecuting his object. He will personally be in no danger from their hostilities. Mr. Raymond received word from him a few days after he had left. He was at York, about 25 miles from Sierra Leone. It seems quite difficult to obtain any satisfactory information respecting the Mendi country in addition to what is already known; but Mr. Raymond has obtained through a certain Mr. Parker, who is well acquainted and has traded much with them, and from other sources, very definite knowledge of the character of the Mendian People.

They are represented as very warlike and some of the greatest slaveholders are in that part of Africa. They even war among themselves for the purpose of getting slaves. If the Mendians who were in this country should return into the midst of their own, it is feared they would be immediately taken and sold again.—It is therefore deemed unsafe, for the present at least, to go back into the interior, and Grand Cape Mount, on the borders on their country, is now supposed to be the most eligible site, as it respects health, &c., for the establishment of the Mission. Here their relatives can have access to them and the mission can be gradually working its way into the interior. Mr. Steele's return however may lead to a different choice of location. Some of the Amistad Africans are found to be Mendians and some to belong to another tribe called Bullooms, and there is some disagreement among them respecting the question with whom the Mission shall be identified. Their eyes are turned to different locations.—This however it is hoped will cause no serious difficulty. Some of them indicate a strong disposition to lay aside their clothing and return to their former savage life of nakedness. One strong incentive to this is the *gree-gree* marks as they call them, which are found upon their bodies. These are marks of honor, diplomas which have great meaning with them. They receive them when they pass through certain branches of learning, or acquit themselves of feats of agility or danger, and are then entitled to change their names or adopt an addition to them and not before.

It will probably require great effort to restrain some of them from a relapse into their former habits. With one or two exceptions they remain firm to their temperance principles, drinking nothing which will intoxicate. The Europeans generally at Sierra Leone, drink wine, ale, porter and brandy so freely that is not surprising they are frequently taken sick suddenly and that so many sink into premature graves. Mr. Raymond, the youngest of the Mendians, has joined a Temperance Society before she left America. She had some palm wine (which is merely the sap of the palm tree, and when pure and free, without any intoxicating tendency, but would not drink any of it until she had asked Mrs. Raymond, if it was proper drink for a teetotaller. Mr. R. states that he never enjoyed better health, both of mind and body, though he finds he cannot endure near so much hardship as he could in his own country. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, the colored assistant Missionaries, were in good health.

Mr. Raymond had hired a house at Sierra Leone of sufficient size to accommodate all the Amistad Africans and the missionaries, and all their goods. For this house he gave £30 per year. Sa-ko-ma, one of the Amistad Africans, had agreed to cook for the whole party at two dollars a month, and have his clothing kept whole. They consume daily about twenty quarts of rice and a shilling sterling worth of fish. The clothes are carried out of town for washing, at some brook, according to the custom of the place, as the town is too dusty to dry clothes in. Mr. R. is getting his tools ready for use, and will be fully prepared for entering upon the performance of whatever carpentry, &c. may be necessary when they have selected a location. The missionaries do not seem at all discouraged, but labor as men who expect to do great things. Should they settle at Cape Mount they will be under the protection of the Government at Sierra Leone.

Two or three slavers had been brought into port by the British cruisers and condemned, and numbers of the slave marts along the coasts have been recently destroyed by British ships of war. This will do much to check this diabolical traffic.

These are the leading facts contained in the letters. Others will doubtless soon be received, giving us the result of the exploring tour and the spot fixed on for the location of the Mission.

New York, April 12th, 1842. L. T.

From the Columbus Freeman.

Albany, Athens Co. O., April 20th 1842.

MR. EDITOR:—Seeing a communication in the Ohio State Journal from Nelsonville, in this county, stating that the abolitionists in this county would vote with the whigs, we think it proper to send you the copy of our Declaration of Independence of both of the great political parties, that the friends of the Liberty party may see that there are some friends of the good cause even in Athens county.

Preamble and Resolutions of the Liberty Club of Lee Township, Athens county.

When in the course of human events, it becomes proper for men to dissolve the bonds that have bound them to any political party, a decent regard for the opinions of mankind, requires that they declare to the world the causes that impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That when any party appears to have lost sight of the great truths, it is the duty of honest men and republicans to leave such party, and to form a party for the security of these rights.

The history of the two great political parties in our nation, is a history of servile submission to the dictetion of slaveholders; to prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world.

They have refused to pass a law the most wholesome and necessary for the public good; they have as far as was in their power, deprived us of the liberty of speech and of the press, a right inestimable to us, and formidable to tyrants only.

The right of trial by jury has been denied to a part of our countrymen; the means of education have been denied to many of our fellow citizens. The seat of our General Government is made a mart for slave, bringing our nation into disgrace in the eyes of an enlightened world. Our fellow-citizens have been the victims of lynch and mob law, without being able find redress.—They have disgraced the military fame of our country by employing blood hounds in our armies against the unoffending and abused Indian, and his unprotected African. They have refused to encourage free-labor, but have done all in their power to encourage slave-labor. They have refused to ack nowledge the independence of a neighboring republic, thereby depriving us of the advantages of a profitable commerce.

In vain have we petitioned for a redress of grievances in the humblest terms; our repeated petitions have been answered by repeated injuries. Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our fellow citizens. We have warned them from time to time of the encroachments upon our rights. We have reminded them of the principles on which our government was instituted. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity. We have conjured them by all the principles of justice and humanity to join us in asserting our just rights. They too, have in most instances been deaf to the voice of justice. Therefore, although it is painful to separate from those with whom we have long acted, every principle of right & duty calls upon us to make the sacrifice. Under the firm conviction that we are acting on the principles of truth and righteousness, we declare that we hold the parties with which we have formerly acted, as we hold the rest of our fellow citizens, opponents when they refuse to advocate the right, but when they plead for justice, our friends and co-workers.

In thus declaring the cause which has compelled us to a separation, we do not wish to be understood as asserting that all who belong to the two political parties are entirely corrupt. We believe there are many honorable exceptions; and that even among the leading and influential, there are some who are honestly striving to bring our government back to the true principles on which it was founded. But we, despairing of seeing this accomplished without a radical change in the principles of said parties, do agree to form ourselves into the Liberty Club for the support and security of our just rights, and the rights of all our fellow citizens, and we pledge to each other our word and sacred honor to use all our energies to support the principles of the Liberty Party of Ohio, as set forth in the address of said Party.

Constitution.—Our club is called the Liberty Club of Lee township, auxiliary to the Liberty Party of Ohio.

We have a president, secretary and treasurer. We meet once a month; at each meeting the president appoints three members to obtain and communicate information in regard to our cause, &c.

A. DAY, *Secretary.*

Receipts, Pledges and Donations.

From 29th Jan. to 7th May.

R M Hamilton $3; Nathan Swain 2; Rev Thos Wilson 2; Geo Sinclair 2; Jno A Gale 2; Alex George 3; Jas M Strong 2; Wm Dunlap 1; R G Brown 1; Rev Solomon Conkey 1; Rufus Bishop 1; Geo King 2; J & Z Wood 2; J Gillet 1; Israel French 3; W L Perkins Esq 2; B Main 2; Dr D Mathews 1; Thos Miller 2; B Strong 1; J M Edwards 1; Wm Edwards 2; Esq Strain 3; Jno McConnahan 2; Dr Jewett 2; P Marsh jr. 1; J A Shedd 3; L G Harley 10; Dr N Abbott 3; Thos Chew 1; E P Barker 2; C Donaldson 2; Wm Rea 2; Wm Watson 2; M McKeever 2; Jacob Thomas 1; Jno Smiley 2; G & G Griffith 1; James Riddell 2; Justin Hillyer 4.90; Jno Iolliffe Esq 2; J Wilson 2; Dr. W Blackston 3; E Bateman 2; Henry Jonnegan 2; Wm Thorn 2; Addenting 3; Rh'd Wright 2; Nath Bonner 2, G Blowson 2; J Brincoe 2; W H Jones 1; Lavina Edmington 2; Jno Scott 1; Jno McFeely 2; Wm Hough 2; Milton Coffin 2; Alfred Johnson 2; Henry Thornbury 1; Saml Wymond 2; M Hiact 2; Jno Tipton 2; S Wilson 2; C Dorham 1; N Macy 2; J McCullough 2; Thos Hance 2; H Starr Esq. 2; Jas Scott 2; Thos Emery 2; Jas Starr 2; J W Owens 2; Wm Hance 2.50; O Owens 2; S Binns 2; Jno McGechin 2; W O Harra 2; James Foster 2; S Baldwin 2; Miss R Dimmock 2; Saml Johnson 3; P Voorhees 2; E Stilson 2; Jas Trimble 2; N H Davis 3; J B Day 2; M Gunsaur 2; Thos Powers 2; W E Jones 1; Silas Kenna Esq 1; H G Bates 1.04; D Espy 1.20; J Durant 2; Miss S Ufford 6; J P Fogg 2; L Beers 6; R F Hibbitt 2; Wm Cook 1; H Graham 2; D Baldwin 2; H Needham 2; A Brownlee 2; J Stenson 2; Dr Soakman 2; A Hunter 2; Jno 2; Thos Heston 2; L B Thair 2: Thos Heaton ar. 2; S Palmer 1; Saml Hall 1; P Doolittle 2; Jno Danson 2; Wm Bree 2; H Boyd 5; H A Shaw 1.90; Advertising 5; Rev. Wm Chaffee 2.63; Jno McIntyre 2; Wm Rolo 2; Rev C Avery 2; Adon Amey 1; S Williams 1; Jas Fowler 2; W C Hoagland 2; Jas Bunting 2; A Pound 2; A Mackey 2; Rev Wm Wallace 2; Wm Worells 2; Wm Dennis 1; Geo McCullough 2; A B Griffin 2; H Skinner 2; S Lewis Esq 5; E Loomis 2; C G Dick 2; H Thornburg 2; A K Keys 1; O Loomis 2; D M Dudley 1; Jas Morrow 2; Wm Dunlap sen. 2; Wm Dunlap jr. 2; J Fraser 2; B B Huber 2.62; Jno Stiles 2; Rev G C Beamen 2; Thos Bascoe 2; H L Wedge 2; N Macy 2; H Sturtevant 2; Thos Plainfield 1; S Hubbell 1.27; D McNaughton 3; M G Arden 1.27; Rev C Foster 32; H Marsh 1.27; E Corner 2.68; Wm Wharton 1.27; E S Ricker 1; Stewart & Colston 1.30; C C Case Esq 4; S Page 1; Samuel Read 1; N W Prentice 2; M H Hecox 2; Mr. Whitmore 1.12; J C Bennett 2; Rev J C Beaman 2; Jno M Sterling 2; Geo M Allen 2; N Parker 4.55; Rev R Dongo .50 Jos Rankin 2; J Ramsay 1; Joel Wood 2; J Ewing 1.62; B Carpenter 1.84; Jno Ramsay 1.62 D Ramsay 1.62 D Hart 1.62; H P Bowman 2; Mr Vanfossen 4; Wm West 1; Wm Doane 2; Curtis & Austin 2; R C Kirk 2; Dr McElvaine 2; D L Rice 2; Jos A Morton 2; Jno Green 2; N Dicks 2; Elijah Moore 25; Rev Mr Vanhorn 2; Jno Johnson 1; E Meder 1; J Sylvester 1; H Sage 1; J Huff 2; J B Watson 2; M Keever 2; J Barrington 1; B Hunt 2; Vore & Comfort 2; D Cook 2; H & A Oaborn 1; H Newman 2; Rev Wm Lewis 1; Thos Bickford 2; A Lewis jr. 2; A Clark 2; Wm Taylor 4.62; J M Jackson 2; Rev D Burgess 5; G & S Harris 1; J S Glover 2; Jas Turnbull 2; A J Cole 2; A Northrop 2; Thos Tenney 1; Elihu Wilcott 5; Bedford Brouw 5; P Loughridge 4.88.

WM. DEARLOVE,
Publishing Agent.

PLEDGES AND DONATIONS,

From 29th Jan. to 7th May.

E Gage, donation, $5; Miss Hicklin do 1; A L (by G R Smith) 10; Jas Jolliffe do 5; Rev Wm Chaffee, Glen Price do do do 50; Jesse Lovd do do do 10; Wm Donaldson do do do 25; Hon Thos Morris on pledge 5; R W Rayne donation 75; Jas Smith do do do 2.38; A friend in Ky, 4; Moses Baird don 25; New Athens A S Soc on pledge of 1841, 4; L B Austin 10; Gustavus A S Soc 2; From a friend in New York for A Tappan 16 75; Geo R Smith on pledge 16; Georgetown Harrison Co A S Soc (by A Lewis) on pledge 20.

THOMAS HEATON,
Treasurer.

STATE MEETING.

The Indiana State Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society will hold its first anniversary in Centerville, Wayne co. Ia., on the last Thursday in May next, at eleven o'clock A. M.; tho friends of the cause and of the church throughout the state and adjoining states are solicited to attend.

Brothers Lewis and Boucher from Ohio are expected to attend.

JOHN A. MOORMAN, *Sec.*

The Freeman, Philanthropist and Wayne co. Recorder will please copy the above.

NOTICE.

The second anniversary of the "Ohio Ladies' Education Society for the education of free people of color" will be held at Mt. Vernon, Knox co. Ohio, on the 7th of June next. It is earnestly hoped that the meeting will be fully attended and that auxiliary societies will as far as possible be represented by their delegates. Interesting addresses are expected, and we trust that anti-slavery women in the State who feel an interest in the success of the great work in which we are engaged will make sacrifices if necessary to attend this important meeting. The executive committee have arranged that those who are in attendance at our anniversary can be present if they desire during most of the sessions of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society which will be held in Mt. Vernon in the same town on the same day with the Ladies Society."

In behalf of the Ex. Com.
MARY A. BLANCHARD, *Sec'y.*

WILLIAM BRNEY,

Attorney at Law, Cincinnati, Ohio, will give prompt and faithful attention to the collection of claims in Ohio, and the Southeastern part of Indiana; and to all professional business entrusted to his care.

Office, on Court street 3 doors West of Main.

Emancipator will please copy for one year and charge this office.

FREE LABOR DRY GOODS.

At Wholesale and Retail.

Calicoes, small and large figures; 4-4, 5-4 and 5-4 unbleached Muslins; do. do. do. bleached Muslins; super Manchester Ginghams, 3-4 and 4-4 colored Muslins; 7-8 and 4-4 Bed Tickings; Canton Flannel, bleached and unbleached; Cotton Laps and Wadding, low price; bleached and unbleached and colored Knitting Cotton; Cotton Yarn; Manchester Stripe for men's wear; Apron Checks and Furniture Checks. Also, a full assortment of Cloths, Cassimeres, Linen Sheetings and Shirtings, Gras[illegible]th Bilks, Mousiln de Laines, and Silks.

Persons from a distance, (desiring goods in particular,) wishing any of the above goods can have them sent, by forwarding their orders, and at the lowest prices at which they can be afforded.

N. B.—The above cotton goods are all warranted to be free from slave labor. Persons wishing to purchase can have full evidence of the fact.

CHARLES WISE.
N. W. corner of Arch and Fifth streets,
Philadelphia, 1st mo., 13th 1842.

MISCELLANEOUS.

UPS AND DOWNS.

'Father,' said Janette Oakley, a beautiful but vain young woman, 'I have made a call upon Miss Frasier to-day, and what do you think I saw there?'

'Probably a giddy unthinking girl like yourself, who is miserable till she possesses every extravagance that folly sets afloat,' was the half gay and half grave response.

'Why father,' continued Janette, 'how can you say so?' and assuming one of her most bewitching smiles she added, 'Miss Frasier has got a new piano forte of superior tone to her old one, besides being far more richly and beautifully finished.'

'Well, what then, child?' rejoined her father, with pensive gravity.

'Why, I was thinking—but you will be offended, I fear.'

'No! in the least, unless you do wrong as well as think. So you was thinking that—'

'I should like a piano like Matilda's,' was the half timid response of Janette.

'I think as much,' continued her father, 'but what is the cost of such an article, dear?'

'Only $1500 father,' and Janette crouched down by his side and regarded him with a fond deprecating smile.

Charles Oakley loved his daughter—his hand pushed aside the rich tresses that shaded her polished brow, and imprinting thereon a parent's kiss, he added $1500 is a large sum for such an article, my dear, is it not?

'True, father, but are you not as well able to afford it as Mr. Frasier?'

'It may be so, but what do you say my dear,' addressing his wife who had been silent, but not a disinterested listener.

'I am anxious Janette should prevail with you. She and Matilda are each to give a party soon, and I have a desire not to be eclipsed by her in the ornaments of the parlor.'

'A most commendable pride,' was the equivocal response.

'But,' continued he, 'what will you do with your old or rather present new one? You surely do not want two?'

'O, we can sell it to Gen. Chandler. Mamma was admiring it much while she was here yesterday, though she thought it rather high priced,' eagerly responded Janette, who was happy in removing the only barrier to the gratification of her predominant wish.

'Perhaps she too may wish a fifteen hundred one. Gen. Chandler is surely able to afford one even more costly.'

'O no, father,—she does not wish a better one than mine—she has quite a plain taste that way.'

'How stupid she must be, Janette, must she not?' queried Oakley. Janette's face crimsoned at his ironical irony, but before she could frame any reply, her father rose, and as he left the house, said, 'let Miss Chandler have the piano forte at her own price.'

Janette's heart leaped for joy. She was not to be outdone by Matilda Frasier, and she looked forward with exultation to that day when she could astonish her friends by such an unexpected display. She was in a delightful reverie of anticipation, and it was soon arranged between them that Miss Chandler should be put into speedy possession of an article they now wondered could ever have found a place in their dwelling.

Charles Oakley commenced the world emptyhanded, nor had he accumulated much when he sought and obtained a partner to his poverty.—Both were poor and friendless, but they fondly clung together, his wife was ever sighing for the splendor of the rich. Though, in the main, a good sort of a woman, she lacked that common sense so requisite to contentment in the possession of a little, as well as the knowledge of domestic economy, generally so important in the acquisition of more. Janette her only child, and so like herself in form and mind, was just verging to woman-hood, and heir, as was supposed, to an ample fortune, she looked forward to a splendid career in the circle of gaiety and fashion. Had she been a step-child or a wiser counsellor, she would have been at eighteen a very different person. She lacked not the principles of an opposite character, but under the false training of her mother, they had been suffered to repose uncultivated, while the weeds of folly were cherished into an expensive growth. The defects of mind were the more striking as they marked the more strongly, the contrast with a pleasing—a speaking eye, and a faultless form.

Her father possessed none of the frivolity of herself or mother, and, owing to the sternness of his temper, and his industrious habits success followed his efforts till the time we have chosen for his introduction to the reader. He had been what is called down in the world, but now he is so far up as to rank among the first in wealth in the city of his residence. But the time has arrived to drop individual delineations and to group them again before the reader.

'Well father, Miss Chandler is to have the piano. She will send for it this afternoon,' said Janette, exultingly.

'At what price my dear?'

'The same it cost. When she found you had left it to her to set the price, she would not take it at less. Do you not think the sale a good one?'

'Certainly—the best you ever made—being the only one.'

'Here is the check for the money—a third of the cash of the new one.'

'So you will only lose one thousand dollars after all, will you my dear?' was the grave response of her father.

'What say you,' he continued, addressing his wife and daughter, 'to a new carriage—the pre sent one is somewhat soiled, is it not?

'By all means,' was the exclamation of both. 'Let the new one be fashioned like Jude Arnol's though not so sparingly mounted.'

Oakley bowed as if in assent, while a bitter smile played over his features for a moment; then all was calm again. The result of the conference was a resolve to sell the principal part of the furniture—all of a costly character, and replace it with that more fashionable and splendid. Both mother and daughter retired to rest that evening full of the new theme which their new dignity was about to give them among their wondering neighbors. Alas, for the poor Frasiers! They were to be overwhelmed by the competition in finery which a fifteen hundred dollar piano had proved.

A few days sufficed to clear the house of its most valuable furniture. Enough was left however, for convenience and comfort, and when this was done, the mother and daughter were all impatience for that which was to replace what was gone. But two days remained to elapse ere Janette's party. Evening came, but Oakley was yet absent and nothing had yet arrived.—He came, but much later than usual, yet he attended partially for his delay by the more than usual kindness of his manner.

Oh! let me to attend to, my dear, and I rejoice that it is done. Come daughter bring forward the Bible, and read a portion of it for our mutual instruction.'

The calm seriousness with which this was uttered, forbade any remarks on its unusual request. It so happened that Janette opened the book at the fifth chapter of Matthew, beginning, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven,' and by the time she had finished the first paragraph, her voice became choked, and unable to proceed; she gave way to emotion in all the violence of grief. Her mother from sympathy or other cause, was equally affected, nor was Oakley free from the same emotion. When his wife and daughter had become somewhat composed, he knelt down between them with the solemnity expressed words, "*Let us pray.*" And he did pray in all the fervency of a broken spirit. He acknowledged his forgetfulness of God—implored pardon for his own, and for the sins of those bound to him by the strongest of human ties—prayed that both he and his, might expel from their hearts the pride so long cherished—thanked his creator for the gift of existence—for the blessings associated with it, as also for the hopes of an immortality and hereafter inspired by the promises of the gospel. He commended the whole to the kind care of Him on whom all are dependant for the life that now is, as well as that which is to come; and so deeply did the spirit of his petitions affect his wife and daughter that they joined with him in that most solemn expressive phrase, AMEN.

That night a new spirit reigned in the bosom of the Oakley family. And when what they had been taught to call 'the party' was finished, when they were assured that the wealth so long idolized was theirs no longer—scarcely a regret or a murmur escaped the lips of mother or daughter, but both seemed anxious to forget that misfortune had fallen on them. A situation more befitting their means was procured, and father, mother and daughter, felt more real pleasure than when riotting in what seemed an inexhaustible abundance. The party—the carriage—the piano, and costly furniture were forgotten. Economy and industry took the place of fashionable folly, and they are now prosperous and happy. Mrs. Oakley lost her pride but found contentment. Janette lost her pride, as also a foppish beau, who had an eye to her fortune, but she had her own good qualities, and has applied herself to their improvement, as well as the worth of a young man who sighed for her when rich and who loves her now while comparatively poor, and whom she will doubtless reward ere long, by surrendering herself to his care and keeping. This is a simple tale of '*ups and downs*' of life, and happy would it be if all who get toppled from the pinnacle of fortune, could gain as much by the overthrow as did the Oakley family.

Trusting an Indian Chief,
OR CONFIDENCE RETURNED.

One of the first settlers in Western N. York, was Judge W., who established himself at Whitestown, about four miles from Utica.—He brought his family with him, among whom was a widowed daughter with an only child—a fine boy of about four years old. You will recollect that the country around was an unbroken forest, and this was the domain of the savage tribes.

Judge W. saw the necessity of keeping on good terms with the Indians, for as he was nearly alone, he was completely at their mercy.—Accordingly he made them presents—kept open house for them, and by these means secured their good will in return. Several of the chiefs came to see him, and all appeared pacific. But there was one thing that troubled him; an aged chief of the Seneca tribe, and one of great influence, who resided a few leagues of about six miles, had not yet been to see him; nor could he by any means, ascertain the feelings and views of the sachem in respect to his settlement in that region. At last he sent him a message, and the answer was, that the chief would visit him on the morrow.

True to his appointment, the sachem came. Judge W. received him with marks of respect, and introduced his wife, his daughter, and the little boy. The interview that followed was deeply interesting. Upon its result, the Judge conceived that his security might depend, and he was, therefore, exceedingly anxious to make a favorable impression upon the distinguished chief. He expressed to him his desire to settle in the country; to live on terms of amity and good will with all the Indians; and to be useful to them by introducing among them the arts of civilization.

The chief heard him out, and then said, 'Brother, you ask much, and you promise much. What pledge can you give of your faith?'

'The honor of a man that never knew deception,' was the reply.

'The white man's word may be good to the white man, yet it is but wind when spoken to the Indian,' said the sachem.

'I have put my life into your hands,' said the Judge; 'is not this an evidence of my good intentions? I have placed confidence in the Indian, and I will not believe that he will abuse or betray the trust that is thus reposed.'

'So much is well,' replied the chief; 'the Indian will repay confidence with confidence; if you will trust him, he will trust you. But I must have a pledge. Let this boy go with me to my wigwam; I will bring him back in three days with my answer.'

If an arrow had pierced the bosom of the mother, she could not have felt deeper the pang that went through her heart, as the Indian made this proposal. She sprang from her seat, and rushing to the boy who stood at the side of the sachem, looked into his face with pleased wonder and admiration; she encircled him in her arms, and pressing him close to her bosom, was about to fly from the room. A gloomy and ominous frown came over the sachem's brow, but he did not speak.

But not so with Judge W. He knew that the success of the enterprise, the very lives of his family depended upon the decision of the moment. 'Stay, stay, my daughter!' said he.—'Bring back the boy, I beseech you. I would not risk a hair of his head. He is not more dear to you than me. But my child he must go with the chief. God will watch over him.—He will be as safe in the sachem's wigwam as beneath our roof and your arms.'

I shall not attempt to describe the agony of the mother for the three ensuing days. She was agitated by contending hopes and fears.—In the night she awoke from sleep, seeming to hear the screams of her child calling upon its mother for help! But the time wore away—and the third day came. How slowly did the hours pass. The evening was gloomy—no arrival—and on the afternoon was now far advanced; yet the sachem came not. There was gloom over the whole household. The mother was pale and silent as if despair was seizing upon her heart. Judge W., walked to and fro, with the rapid strides of one who would express their surprise and thanks, at the almost miraculous cure these medicines have effected.

Mr. W. Harris, Esq., who had been so afflicted with rheumatism, as to be unable to dress himself without assistance, was enabled after wearing one, only one night, to get up in the morning with joy, and his tongue pouring forth the gladness of his heart, at the sudden and signal relief he had received from the best of all remedies.

Mr. David Williams, of Elizabethtown, N. J., an old Revolutionary Soldier, was so afflicted with Rheumatism, that he could scarcely help himself—these plasters entirely relieved him.

Dr. J. Peter's Pills. Large size box containing 45 pills, 50 cents per box. Small size box containing 20 pills, 25 cents per box. Dr. A. Sherman's Cough Candy, price 25 cents per box. Dr. A. Sherman's Worm Candys, only 25 cents per box. Poor Man's Plaster, only 12 1-2 cents a piece.

Agents for the sale of the above valuable medicines—Wm. H. Ferguson & Hartford & Glover, Cincinnati; A. Avery & Co. Granville; Ridgeway Morphy & Co. Ripley; A. Graham & Co. Franklin Buildings, Cleveland; Watson, Druggist, Massillon. Most every merchant in the U. S., Mexico and West Indies.

VALUABLE MUSIC BOOKS.

Sold by Robinson, Pratt, & Co, New York City; Daniels & Smith, New Haven; Hubbard, Hartford; Grigg & Elliott, Philadelphia; by Truman & Smith, Cincinnati; and by Booksellers generally throughout the United States.

"Twentieth Edition of Mason's Sacred Harp, or Beauties of Church Music, a new collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Sentences and Chants, derived from the compositions of about one hundred eminent German, Swiss, Italian, French, English and other European composers, the original tunes by German, English, and American authors, many of them having been arranged, or composed, expressly for this work. By Lowell Mason, Professor in the Boston Academy of Music, Member of the Philharmonic Society of Leipsic, the Boston Academy's Collection, etc, etc; and by his brother, T. B. Mason, Professor of "Sacred Music" and author of "Boston Academy's Collection," etc, etc.

Twentieth Stereotyped edition, revised and greatly improved by the introduction of eighty tunes not to former editions. The "Sacred Harp," which has been for the inductive method, have been greatly extended and newly arranged in the precise order that is pursued in teaching; and the numerous practical exercises connected with each lesson, will be found of great superior value in the use of the black board. The above work is now known by the general title of "*Mason's Sacred Harp*," Volume One. It is intended to make "Mason's Sacred Harp," the "*Boston Academy's Collection*," the "*Melody and Harmony*," which have heretofore been scattered through various collections. And the collecting into a convenient volume, the old and new, choice, beautiful, standard Tunes, Anthems, Chants, hours and singing schools, which has been already liberally rewarded. The sale of twenty editions in the short time the "Sacred Harp" has been before the public, and the steadily increasing patronage bestowed upon it, is the best possible evidence that it is the very best collection extant, for singing schools, and for churches of all denominations.

From numerous Recommendations the following are selected.

From the Boston Spectator.

We hope all will encourage '*Mason's Sacred Harp*.' Wospeak of Mason's Harp, because we know well its merits. We hesitate not to say, that it is the best work extant.

From the New York Evangelist.

Mason's Sacred Harp is, what it is called in the title page, a very select and useful work—the best collection of church music extant, for congregations any-where.

From the Baptist Advocate.

Mason's Sacred Harp.—The lovers of Sacred Song will find a rich treat in this new collection. No one man in our country has done so much for church music as Lowell Mason. He has given us the "Boston Handel and Haydn Collection," the "Boston Academy's Collection," the "Bostou Academy Collection," etc, all valuable works, and entitled to the extensive patronage which has been bestowed upon them; but it is safe to say, that the "Sacred Harp" has not an equal in the English language. This book is a volume of "gems in Melody and Harmony." Every denomination will promote devotional Psalmody by adapting this collection as the standard of church music.

Mason's Sacred Harp is the most complete, interesting and valuable Psalm and Hymn tunes I have ever seen. It is emphatically sacred music. I will encourage its general introduction.

From the Journal.

We are familiar with all of Mason's publications, and have carefully examined the Sacred Harp. The volume is composed of very beautiful melodies, and harmonies of almost unequalled richness. It may justly by entitled "the beauties of music." The tunes are admirably adapted to the different metres, and in every circumstance upon which the happiest effect of Christian Psalmody depends. The work is particularly recommended to those whose object it is to suit music to the words sung, or to lead the mind and heart to sentiment, and thus eminently conductive to devotion.

From M. Hamilton, Director of music in the Methodist Church, Wheeling.

We are using *Mason's Sacred Harp* in our church, I should be very much pleased in general use—the music will please and improve the lovers of Sacred Song. The tunes are well suited in the different variety of metres, and it is a desirable collection for churches and schools.

Just Published.

Vol. II.—Mason's Sacred Harp, or Beauties of Church Music.—Vol. II. contains old, new, and original Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Sacred Songs, Chants, &c. &c. The first volume of "Mason's Sacred Harp," does not contain a single tune found in the first volume—it is a complete and independent book of itself, and will be sold separately. It is stereotyped from entirely new type of the first beauty and perfection, printed on fine paper. The object in publishing an additional volume, is to furnish an extended variety as regards style, metro and adaptation to the various wants of the lovers of Sacred Song, and of the Boston Academy's Collection; and it is hoped will receive a patronage in some degree commensurate with the varied talent, labor and expense that have been employed in its production.

The publishers confidently believe it will show the estimation in which it is held by good musicians.

From a Report of the Committee of the "*Eclectic Academy of Music*" on Musical publications, unanimously adopted by the Government and Members, March 24th.

"*The Sacred Harp, Vol. II.*, has been carefully examined by your committee, who cannot but regard it as possessing, in addition to the merits of the first volume, a high degree of excellence in melody, chaste beauty of melody, and richness of harmony, which contribute the 'soul of music,' and which cannot fail to render it a standard work."

It is confidently believed that the efforts made by the Editor to furnish IN THE SACRED HARP, an extended variety of *good Stock Music*,—such as will be permanently popular, and which will find a permanent place in the collection of Churches, Choirs, and Singers generally.

A COPY OF THE RECORDS,
C. R. FOLGER, *Sec'y. of the Academy.*

From the "Handel Musical Society," of W. R. College, Hudson.

The SACRED HARP, VOLUME II, merits our HIGHEST approbation, and is a rich addition to our Library. Its introduction into the society has confirmed the belief that it will prove an important means of advancing sacred Music. We cannot be but happy to learn the full efforts of the authors to say, that the two volumes of the Sacred Harp, constitute th best collection ever published. By order of the Society,

C. BARBER, *Sec'y.*

[*From the Observer.*]

Mason's Sacred Harp, or Beauties of Church Music, Vol. 2nd.—We hesitate not, most confidently to recommend this as a book of extradinary merit; one of the best, if not the very best collections of Church Music ever issued from the American press. It will be held in high esteem by the admirers of taste, scientific accuracy, and fine discrimination in the adaptation of music to sacred poetry. Mr. Mason has evinced a knowledge of intimate dependance of Melody upon Harmony, an appropriate principle to often disregarded in American publications. It is a volume of Sacred Melodies, with rich, beautiful and classical harmonies, combining that striking purity and solidity of style, for which German musicians are, perhaps, more peculiar than any others. The beautiful typography of the work will speak for itself.

From Mr. Allen, Professor of Sacred Music in Oberlin College,

Nearly 2 years past, we have made selections for Church Music from the "*Sacred Harp*." Volume II., of

FOR SALE CHEAP!

"Cause and Cure of Infidelity." By Rev. David Nelson, of Quincy, Ill. Any individual wishing this work can have it by application to the subscriber. Third edition, published by the American Tract Society.

D. D. NELSON.

Walnut Hills, Lane Seminary, O., Oct. 5, 1841.

WEDDING CAKE MANUFACTORY,
FANCY CAKE STORE,
AND WHOLESALE AND RETAIL
CONFECTIONARY.

Fifth st, 5 doors East of Vine, North side.

The subscriber having succeeded to the business of J. A. Hamell, respectfully invites the friends and the public in general to his display of Christmas. New Year cakes and Confectionaries, begs leave to inform them that all attention will be paid to their orders, and the same punctually executed.

SAMUEL A. ALLEY.

December 22nd, 1841.

NOTICE—MILK—MILK

We are now prepared to inform our friends that we still continue to supply this City, with Milk on the six day principle, omitting the Sabbath, and have made permanent arrangements to continue it. All persons willing to sustain us, are requested to send their names and residence to the Office of the Philanthropist.

C. M. MERRELL,
N. H. MERRELL.

Messrs. Wooxson & Tinsley, House Carpenters and Joiners, near the corner of Eight and Broadway, Cincinnati, feeling grateful for their patronage since the association as a firm, inform their friends and the public that they are prepared to do all kinds of House Carpenter and Joiner's work at the shortest notice and on the most reasonable terms.

WOODSON & TINSLEY.

PETER'S PILLS.

WE HAVE TRIED DOCTOR JOS. PRIESTLEY PETERS' VEGETABLE PILLS, and have no hesitation in pronouncing them the best *Antibilious Medicine* that we have ever used in our families. They are acquainted with several families in this city who give them the preference to all other kinds, on account of their mildness, and at the same time, certainty of action.—Price 25 cents per box.

MORE THAN TEN MILLIONS of boxes of these truly valuable Antibilious Pills have been sold in the United States, Canadas, West Indies, Mexico and Texas, since the first of January, eighteen hundred and thirty-six.

HUNDREDS and THOUSANDS bless the. day they were induced, by a friend, to try a *Box of Dr. Peter's Pills.*

They are in use as a Family Medicine, and all who have used them give them the preference to all other kinds, on account of their being a safe, pleasant, and easy aperient—being mild in their action at the same time strong, in their operation, producing neither sickness, griping, nor debility.

Doctor Joseph Priestly Peters,

Dear Sir—I have used your valuable Pills these last three years, in cases of Dispepsia, Liver Complaint, and Sick Headache, and have found them in a majority of cases, the most valuable Pills I have ever used.

JOHN CASE, M. D.

For Sick or Nervous Head-ache, or Billious Fever, I would recommend *Peters' Pills*, in preference to all other kinds.

R. H. ARMSTRONG, M. D.

The following from the EMINENT DOCTOR EMERSON, is considered sufficient

I have used in my practice these last 8 years, *Dr. Jos. Priestly Peters'* Vegetable Antibilious Pills and consider them the BEST FAMILY MEDICINE I have ever used.

Given up to Die.

How many are given up to die that might be saved by Sherman's Lozenges, the best medicine in the world, and the easiest taken.

Consumption

Sweeps off thousands, yearly, in the United States, that Sherman's Cough Lozenges would cure when nothing else would.

Cure

neglected, lead to consumption and death, when a few of the Lozenges would effect a cure in one or two days. Try them, they are remarked by pleasant and cost but a trifle.

The Rev. Daniel Pratt, whose name is known within the last year as a reference of the wonderful virtues of these Cough Lozenges. They cure all recent cases in a few hours, seldom requiring more than one day to cure the most distressing cough.

The Rev. Darius Anthony, of the Oneida Conference, was given up as incurable, believed to be on the verge of the grave from consumption, without the hope of relief, till he tried these Lozenges. They relieved him immediately, and in a few weeks restored him to health, so that he could resume his duties as a minister of the gospel. He recommends them to all who are consumptive or have any disease of the throat and lungs, as the greatest medicine in the known world. He has witnessed their effects on several others, and always with the happiest results. He says so great a remedy through the blessing of Divine Providence, should be conferred on the poor—of all, and in every family on the face of the earth.

The Rev. Doctor Eastmand, of this city, gave a few to Mrs. ——, a friend of his, who had been given up by her physician and friends as in the last stage of Consumption. The first Lozenge gave her considerable relief, so that she was encouraged to persevere in their use, and with the blessing of God they restored her to perfect health.

Mellery S. Bunker, 97 Green st. was cured of a very bad cough he suffered from several weeks, by only 5 Lozenges when all other remedies had no effect on, in three days.

Mr. G. T. Matthews, S Caroline st., suffered a year with a very bad, tight cough, pain in the side, spitting of blood and at th usual symptoms of consumption. The Lozenges cured him entirely, and in a few weeks restored him to perfect health. He says they are the greatest medicine in the world.

Wherever clergymen as the Rev. Mr. Anthony, Eastmond, Pratt, Bangs, and such public men as Bliss, Bedient, Smith, Rogers, and those named above, mention the use of any article of medicine, the public need no hesitate to place reliance upon it. Such are Sherman's Lozenges.

Children Die

of worms after months and sometimes years of suffering, wout the parent's knowing the cause—little suspecting worms are literally eating them up. Sherman's Worm Lozenges, will destroy and remove the whole brood of such cases. Any child will take them.

Sherman's Worm Lozenges.

Proved more than 400,000 cases to be infallible; the only coin worm-destroying medicine ever discovered. Many children from supposed other complaints, are suffering and even death, without their ever being seeied; grown persons are very often afflicted with the and are doctored for various complaints, without knowing that one dose of these Lozenges would cure them.

Mr. Murphy, 90 North st. Philadelphia, was apoplectic a poor woman, whose daughter, 7 years old, had been for upwards 3 years, perfectly helpless, the unfortunate person's, her arms and legs so swollen that she could not walk or help herself, although she could pass much as two laboring men. Two celebrated doctors had exhausted their skill without any benefit; the child had spent all the money they could raise—she abandoned all idea of doing any thing more, and looked to death alone, to take her out of misery. Mr. Murphy believing it a case of worms, gave her a few of Sherman's Lozenges, and in one day she returned with joy beaming in her eyes, and said the Lozenges had saved her child's life. The child brought away nearly a pint of worms in one passage, she afterwards counted over 800 that were dead, besides the mass which she could not count. She then literally eaten up with them—another proof of the almost miraculous efficacy of Sherman's Lozenges.

My Poor Back

will heal it is so weak, and pains me constantly. What did! Get one of Sherman's Poor man's Plaster with his name on it, and it will cure you in a few days. Mind this.

Sherman's Poor Man's Plaster.

The best strengthening Plaster in the world, and a sure remedy for pains, or weakness in the back, Stitch, Rheumatism, Sprains, Bruises, Pains in the Side, Breast, or Limbs, Coughs, Colds, Asthma, Pains and Weakness in the Back, Kidneys, Spine, or Limbs, Female Complaints, Pains and Weakness in the Loins, Nervousness, Sleeplessness, Dyspepsia, Indigestion, Liver Complaint, Dropsy, Piles, Fever and Ague, Fever Sores, Tetter, Salt Rheum, Scald Head, Ringworm, Ulcers, Sore Eyes, Sore Throat, Quinsy, Croup, Whooping Cough, Influenza, Consumption, Pain in the Chest, Side, Back, or Limbs, Numbness, Paralysis, Fits, St. Vitus Dance, Tic Doloreux, Lumbago, Sciatica, Gout, Cramp, Spasms, Hysterics, Female Weakness, Barrenness, Flooding, Suppression, Irregularities, Pains at the Change of Life, Nervous Debility, Loss of Memory, Universal Lassitude, Pain in the Small of the Back, Seminal Weakness, Involuntary Discharges, Impotency, Sexual Debility, Exhaustion, Sea Sickness, Nervous Headache, Epilepsy, Spasms, Diseases of the Bladder, Kidneys, Gravel, Dropsy, Pain in the Region of the Kidneys, and all diseases requiring an external remedy.

Price 12 1-2 cents a piece.

Sherman's Cough Candy.

Price 25 cents per box.

Sherman's Worm Candy.

Price 25 cents per box.

Sherman's Lozenges.

Price 25 cents per box.

Sherman's Poor Man's Plaster.

Price 12 1-2 cents a piece.

Sherman's Liver Pills.

Price 25 cents per box.

Sherman's Ointment